SCRIPT-BASED LANGUAGE INTERVENTION

SCRIPT-BASED LANGUAGE INTERVENTION:

Learning to Participate in Life Events

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INTRODUCTION

The ultimate and inherently pragmatic goal of any language intervention program is for children to use language in the context of everyday life events. Goodman, Duchan, and Sonnenmeier (Chapter 9) point out that research in the area of cognitive psychology has highlighted the role scriptal knowledge plays in children's understanding of such everyday events (see also, Nelson, 1986). Scripts support children's ability to participate, describe, and recall familiar events as well as to use language during such events.

It is through participation in everyday experiences that children learn a particular view of the world and develop the knowledge base from which they may make sense out of new experiences. If children are confronted with a novel event, it seems reasonable that they will attempt to make sense out of it and participate in it based on prior experiences. As Goodman, et al. (Chapter 9) suggests, children are likely to "confirm" the familiar aspects of currently experienced or remembered events and then to "deploy" a variation of the typical event structure for understanding or remembering novel aspects. The general sequence for what you do at Friendly's is not all that different from

what you do at Pizza Hut: You go to the restaurant, you wait for someone to seat you, you look at the menu, you tell the waiter or waitress what you want to eat, and so forth. What is different is what you might order or the way in which you eat, given the difference in the food items. Once a child recognizes or confirms the similarity in the two events, then knowing what to do or say in either is not difficult. On the other hand, children who have not abstracted the generalized event representation for "restaurant," or who have a specific event representation for restaurant based on Pizza Hut only, may not be able to rely on previous experiences in order to successfully participate in a new event, such as going to Friendly's. Children often get upset when the event does not proceed as expected. In these cases, teachers, clinicians, or parents help children make comparisons across similar events and understand different versions of the same event. Through repeated experiences children will be

to greater understanding and better performance in event-based life experiences.

Children's successful participation in events with others also depends on how similar their event representations are to those of their interactants. Differences in two interactants' understanding of a particular event can lead to differences in how they participate in the event and then to "miscommunications." Often we are surprised when children do not do something in the way we would. Imagine a child who has a narrow representation of an event or does not have prior experience with the event. Such children appear incompetent or incorrigible on occasions when knowledge of that event required.

better able to abstract a more generalized event representation, which leads

This chapter is an attempt to blend clinical practice with the theoretical perspective of scripts in order to help children learn and use event knowledge. The design of the intervention approach has evolved, with theory guiding practice and practice creating questions for the theoretical literature to help answer. A framework will be presented for planning and implementing script-based intervention with preschool children who exhibit various handicapping conditions (language delay, autism, Down syndrome, developmental delays, etc.). The intervention approach focuses on the expansion of children's event knowledge to support their expressive language abilities during familiar daily routines, such as feeding a baby, as well as during less familiar community-based events, such as going to a restaurant.

THE USE OF EVERYDAY EVENTS IN CLINICAL PRACTICE

When practitioners learned of the role of pragmatics in language acquisition, they began designing language interventions that took place in naturally occurring contexts. Particularly influential was Bruner's work, which revealed

the importance of routines in language learning for typical children (Bruner, 1975; Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Ratner & Bruner, 1978). Bruner and his colleagues showed that children learn language through active participation in familiar events, not by passive observation alone. Taking these results and applying them to language teaching, practitioners discarded worksheets and drill activities in favor of more naturalistic contexts such as play (Culatta, 1984; DeMaio, 1984; Weitzner-Lin, Sonnenmeier, & Murphy, 1983) and book-reading (Kirchner, 1991). Routines and sociodramatic play activities were used as vehicles for encouraging children's use of language in familiar contexts (Duchan & Weitzner-Lin, 1987; Snyder-McLean, Solomonson, McLean, & Sack, 1984).

The idea of encouraging language in "natural" contexts has gained increased importance as clinicians have moved into classrooms, since these are the naturally occurring everyday contexts requiring children's participation. Integrated school settings provide endless opportunities for encouraging language use by children with special needs as they relate to their typical peers. The focus has changed from carrying out intervention in a clinician-child dyad to helping children communicate with their peers in the activities in which they participate throughout the day. Clinicians and teachers focus on strategies for encouraging typical peers to act as models for what to say and do in the activities.

It is in the context of integrated programs that it becomes obvious that many children with special needs have different views of the world than those of their typical peers. There are children who scream or tantrum when the class transitions to new activities or goes to new places in the community. Clinicians and teachers struggle to figure out how to help children make sense of their world so that they can successfully participate in play and other activities with their peers, as well as become effective communicators.

One means for providing children with practice on what to do in daily events is through directed pretend play or "scripted play" (Fey, 1986, p. 214). Once children become familiar with an event through play, they can expand their use of language in real-life contexts.

Through observation and documented progress, programs built around scripted events have been found to be successful in encouraging children's use of language (Constable, 1986). Success is often attributed to the repetition provided and the increased familiarity with the activities. Teaching children what to say during pretend play is one step to effective communication but what else might children be learning as they participate in pretend play? The literature on scripts and events, including the work of Nelson (1986), Westby (1988), Constable (1983, 1986) and Snyder-McLean, et al. (1984) provide a rich account of aspects of events that children learn from scripted play activities.

WHAT CHILDREN LEARN BY PARTICIPATING IN EVERYDAY EVENTS

SCRIPT-BASED LANGUAGE INTERVENTION

Bruner and his colleagues (Bruner, 1975; Bruner & Sherwood, 1976; Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Ratner & Bruner, 1978) found that the early routines carried out between infants and their caregivers provide opportunities for learning features that occur across many routine events. These features include understanding that a routine event has a predictable sequence, that language is used at particular points within that event, that there are specific roles that interactants may play within the event, and that these roles are reciprocal (Ratner & Bruner, 1978). Such routines set the stage for learning about events in general and provide a supportive context in which children may slowly expand upon the range of language forms and functions they are able to express.

As children grow older, they add to their knowledge of routines to develop an understanding of longer, more complex, and varying events. For example, children initially learn to assume responsibility in a social game such as peek-a-boo. They learn about turn taking and the interdependence of participants. As children observe and participate in everyday events, such as bathing or mealtime, they build on their knowledge of role relationships acquired during routines. As their experiences begin to include events in the community, this knowledge further develops to include more specified roles such as customer and waitress, ticket seller, and so on. Such knowledge has been described as a part of what Nelson and Gruendel (1981) called "generalized event representations," namely, "scripts" (see Goodman et al., Chapter 9, for a review).

Schank and Abelson (1977) originally described scripts as being "made up of slots and requirements about what can fill those slots" (p. 41). Nelson and Gruendel (1981) used the slot notion of Schank and Abelson (1977) in their study of children's knowledge acquisition. They characterized scripts as "general schemas or frames within which variable elements may be inserted in appropriate contexts" (p. 131). Knowledge of what can fill a slot, according to Nelson (1986), includes expanding on the notions of the various roles individuals can assume within an event, the objects that are typically used, the possible sequence of actions that may be based on the temporal and cadsal relationships, as well as goals within the event and the plans for accomplishing these goals.

Scriptal knowledge forms the conceptual representation for personal experiences, which organizes individuals' knowledge base about events as well as their thoughts and language relevant to these events. This knowledge allows individuals to form expectations for what will happen in an event, supporting their ability to participate within it. Furthermore, and what is important to language interventionists, scripts provide support for the use of language during events, as well as when describing what lypically happens in a particular event.

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Nelson and Gruendel (1979) found that scripts also provide a structure for children's conversations during play and that children use their scriptal knowledge to sustain these conversations. Thus, shared scriptal knowledge allows children to carry on a pretend telephone conversation regarding the negotiation of plans for dinner, a conversation based on their knowledge of how such events typically go. Their knowledge of what to say in the conversation is also a reflection of their understanding of the various roles within the script.

Since scripts describe culturally defined events that have been given conventional labels (Nelson, 1986), the original notions of scripts seemed to suggest that event representations are similar for members of the same culture—that there might be something such as a "culturally agreed upon script" for particular events. Adults guide children's participation in cultural events. In this way children learn conventional ways of thinking about and participating in their culture's activities.

It has been found that individuals may develop a different sense of an event depending on their role within the event (Duchan, 1991). Ross and Berg (1990) reported on the individual differences reflected in adults' descriptions of events based on their particular role. For example, an airplane pilot has a very different script for an airport event than does a passenger. The types of experiences one has had in an event also account for individual differences. Thus, someone who travels a great deal may include "luggage getting lost" as part of his or her script whereas someone else may not. This points out the variability that exists between individuals and the importance of experience in the formation of a script. This is a crucial notion in understanding children's scriptal knowledge, particularly children who may pay attention to different aspects of events. As a result, they probably form an idiosyncratic event representation which then leads them to participate in events differently than others might, based on having different expectations about the event.

Children's underlying knowledge of scripts has primarily been studied by examining their descriptions of events (Nelson & Gruendel, 1981). Researchers assume that particular scriptal elements have been conceptually established if they occur as part of a child's event description. However, some researchers have found that children are better able to recall elements of a script when given contextual support such as that provided by event enactments (Farrar & Goodman, 1990, 1992; Smith, Ratner, & Hobart, 1987). Understanding that children are able to demonstrate what they know about events through enactments has lead to assessment and intervention procedures that emphasize the incorporation of event knowledge.

In summary, it has been found that children's acquisition of event knowledge consists of their learning a variety of features. For example, children learn about role relationships, action sequences, and object use that are included in their event representations. The features serve not only as structure

for particular events but also as abstract "slots" that allow children to understand event structure in general. Children use their knowledge of event structure to support their participation and use of language during events. In addition, children come to understand, through adult guidance, cultural conventions regarding events.

SUPPORT FOR THE USE OF A SCRIPT-BASED APPROACH TO LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT AND INTERVENTION

The use of a script-based approach to language assessment and intervention has been promoted by various researchers (Constable, 1983, 1986; Culatta, Chapter 8; Duchan, 1991; Duchan & Weitzner-Lin, 1987; Snyder-McLean et al., 1984; Westby, 1980, 1988). Westby (1980, 1988) provides a scale for assessing children's play skills that can be used to gain insight into their conceptual understanding of the physical world as well as their understanding of social interactions within familiar events. Westby (1980) used her Symbolic Play Scale with children exhibiting various handicapping conditions, including autism, mental retardation, attention-deficit disorders, and speech/language impairments. She found children with disabilities played differently from their typical peers and noted that the variability was related to the elements of scripts used in the children's play. In the revision of her play scale, Westby (1988) includes assessment of scriptal elements as follows:

- The relationships between self and others and the ability to adopt the ROLES of others in pretend activities
- The organization of play themes, emphasizing the SEQUENCE of actions and overall coherence of play events
- The content of the scripts, emphasizing the overall GOAL or theme of the play event
- The ideas about how OBJECTS are used within the events, including the trend for play to occur with decreasing environmental support or changing reliance on props (from realistic, to abstract, to invented)

Examiners can use Westby's scale to assess children's development of all four dimensions (Westby, 1988). This provides a format for determining what aspects of the event a child knows and uses in interactions as well as identifying potential areas in which the child's event knowledge may be different from that of others. The findings based on use of this scale have specific intervention implications. For example, those children who depend on others for the organization of their play could benefit from specific interventions designed to increase their understanding of the events upon which the play is based.

Snyder-McLean et al. (1984) suggest that children with delayed language may not always attend to the most relevant features of an event, at least those most relevant for an adult. Constable (1983) recommends providing perceptual support to highlight relevant aspects of events that foster language learning. Such perceptual support includes making available relevant objects. Constable (1983) and Sender McLean at 1984 in the constable relevant objects.

Constable (1983, 1986) and Snyder-McLean et al. (1984) suggest that scripts provide a social context for learning as well as a way for children to learn about actors, objects, and actions within the event. They see the building of scripts with children as creating a shared knowledge base between the child and the interactant, increasing the child's attention to relevant or script-consistent information, thereby enhancing overall communicative competence.

Snyder-McLean and colleagues (1984) have devised scripted intervention through the use of what they call "joint action routines." They define a joint action routine as

a ritualized interaction pattern, involving joint action, unified by a specific theme or goal, which follows a logical sequence, including a clear beginning point, and in which each participant plays a recognizable role, with specific response expectancies, that is essential to the successful completion of that sequence. (p. 214)

These authors regard joint action routines as being somewhere between Bruner's tightly formatted routines and social games and Nelson's more loosely structured scripts. Similar to the tightly formatted routines, joint action routines provide a "scaffold" (Bruner, 1975) that supports the child's use of language in an event. Additionally, such routines may provide an opportunity to assist a child who may have a different view of the world in gaining an understanding of the culturally accepted views of events (Snyder-McLean et al., 1984). Furthermore, such communicative contexts are easily incorporated into classroom contexts and allow for the opportunity to encourage meaningful interactions between children with language impairments and their peers. Snyder-McLean et al. (1984) argue that the features present in these early routines can be useful in planning intervention programs for young as well as older children at a prelinguistic or a beginning stage in their language learning.

Duchan and Weitzner-Lin (1987) advocate for the use of specific events to facilitate children's use of particular language forms and functions. They present a framework for planning events such as storytelling to develop discourse skills, routines for encouraging participation and turn taking, and sociodramatic play for enhancing conversational competence.

Most of the approaches highlight the need for children to possess event knowledge, which then supports their use of language in specific contexts. Constable (1983, 1986) emphasizes the use of context to increase children's understanding and use of specific linguistic forms. Snyder-McLean et al. (1984) and Duchan and Weitzner-Lin (1987) promote the use of particular events

for the learning of specific pragmatic and discourse skills. However, events need to be emphasized in intervention not simply as vehicles for facilitating language use and language form, but for emphasizing event knowledge in and of itself. The approach of script-based intervention developed here treats event knowledge in its own right and not just as a means for learning language.

A FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING SCRIPT-BASED PLAY EVENTS

So how might we teach children generalized event representations? By designing play and real-life situations that include elements of scripts, clinicians can help children develop the knowledge they need to support their participation in events. While the use of sociodramatic play is not new to language interventionists, using play to teach children event knowledge is. When targeting event representations as a goal, interventionists need to do more than set out materials and model appropriate language forms in context. They also need to consider:

- Overall organization of the event
- Roles of participants and the perspective of the event from given roles
- Temporal relationships (sequence)
- Causal relationships (goals and plans)
- Objects related to the event

The adult begins by providing at least one version of how to participate in the event, highlighting specific aspects of the event. The formation-confirmation-deployment hypothesis developed by Goodman et al. (Chapter 9) has application here. The event presented will be familiar to some children, allowing them to confirm the aspects of the events that they know and can recall. Particular events may never have been experienced by some children or may have been experienced in very different ways. These children will engage in the process of forming an event representation. Other children may recognize the events and are able to note variations of the events, utilfzing their deployment skills. Thus, a particular enactment of an event may focus on different view of the event, the same demonstration offers them experience in a series of repeated experiences that could help them develop an event representation.

Clinicians and teachers using a scriptal approach to intervention need to consider elements of events when planning structured play events. Certain events emphasize particular aspects of scriptal knowledge; some provide a focus on the sequence, while others require attention to roles and various perspectives based on roles.

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Initially, it is beneficial to involve the child in event sequences congruent with his or her role or perspective. For example, when going to the restaurant, the child would always be in the customer role; when going to the doctor, in the patient role. It is useful to point out to the children that the roles are often similar across many events. Children need to learn the familiar role of "customer," whether it be at a grocery store, shoe store, or restaurant, or when purchasing a ticket for a movic. At the same time, children need to learn about the role of "worker," or the person who can provide the service, whether it be a cashier, waiter, or ticket seller. Through repeated experiences children will learn to take on a different perspective within the event and assume a less familiar role.

In addition, some actions and event sequences can be incorporated into different events. For example, going somewhere in the community usually involves "getting ready," which may include getting dressed and checking to make sure we have enough money before driving to our destination. Such "subscripts" (Abelson, 1981) can be included regularly in event reenactments to support children's participation in the familiar portions of the events. "Families" can "drive" pretend cars to stores or restaurants, building in generalization across events. Over time, variations in subscripts can be introduced; sometimes the family could walk or take a bus to the store. The variations can be used to help children learn about new events.

Some events do not emphasize roles at all. For example, a camping event focuses on the things you do while camping but not so much on who is doing what; it tends to be a group effort. Such an event is really a combination of many subscripts, including shopping for food, packing, traveling to the campsite, hiking, cooking, bedtime, and so on. It is likely that children will recognize some of the subscripts embedded in the event and incorporate this information to participate in the "camping" event. In addition, the temporal and causal sequencing of some subscripts matters, such as making the fire in order to cook dinner. On the other hand, the sequence of other subscripts in a camping event is more arbitrary; it does not matter if you go for a hike before or after lunch.

Clinicians and teachers can take advantage of the similarities in roles and action sequences and build upon children's previous experiences to help them learn about new events. In this way, adults guide children in the process of confirming the subscripts as familiar and encourage the deployment effect in the recognition of variations or novel aspects of the subscripts. The focus of a selected scripted play activity might be to demonstrate any one or more of the following: possible event sequences, roles for the participants, goals and plans for fulfilling those goals, and ways of using the materials.

Early in the school year, events can be chosen that are familiar to the children, such as the daily events of bathtime, dressing, feeding, and perhaps bookreading. Table 10-1 presents a list of events grouped by theme that may be rehearsed during scripted play. Children can rely on their own experiences

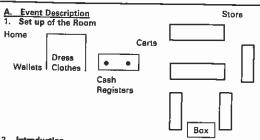
TABLE 10-1 Familiar Events That May Be Reheersed During Scripted Play Family Routines

Travel Events Medical Needs Stores Restaurants airport dentist bakary space ship travel train station camping veterinerien post office grocery store birthday party doctor/hospital shoe store fast food restaurant pizza parior ice cream parlor bathtime meskime

and reenact these experiences with realistic materials and dolls. Over time, these experiences can be built upon to include occasional events within the family or the community, such as going to a birthday party or going to the grocery store or a restaurant. Realistic materials and even real food items can act as cues for relevant elements of the event, what Constable (1983) calls "providing perceptual support." Field trips to the community can provide real-life experience from which children can draw. Gradually, events can be introduced with which children have even less experience, such as going to the doctor or dentist, or perhaps no experience, such as taking a trip on a bus or airplane or going camping.

The "scripted play" time itself has a specific overall structure related to daily classroom routines which children come to expect over time. At the beginning of the school year, the play event can be specifically described to the children. First, the children sit and watch as an adult introduces the materials and how they can be used in the event. Likewise, the adult can review the subscripts that later will be combined into the whole event. Then the adult can model the event sequence from the beginning to the end and narrate the actions for the event while going through it. This offers the opportunity to model language use and language forms related to the event. Once the demonstration is completed, the adult can point out differences or variations for the children to pay attention to in the enactment. Then children

FIGURE 10-1 Lesson Plan: Grocery Store



2. Introduction

Adult explains the focus of the "playgroup" and asks children what they know about the event Adult Demonstration of "Customer Role"

Getting Ready to Go to the Store put on coat

check to make sure you have enough money check the shopping list (review list with group) walk to the store

At the Store get a shopping cart look at the list and look for items on shelves ask store worker for help in finding items check-out/pay for food help bag items

Go Hame

4. Role Play by Children:

Assignment of Roles (store worker, customer)
pair typical child with child with special needs
adult supports children in respective roles
Children's Enactment of the Scripted Event

store worker-stock shelves

open store

help customers find items check-out/cash register bag itama

take money close store

get dressed and get money customer-

walk to store look for items on the list

ask store workers for help with items not

check-out and give money to cashiers take items and go home.

c. Switch Roles and Reenact
Review Event: event descriptions
Free play: (next day)

set out materials for children to reenact event with minimal adult support

B. Objectives
Group Objectives (typical children):

- to assume a pretend role (cashier, customer)
- to follow and participate in the event sequence to use vocabulary related to the event
- to engage in conversations related to the event
- to coherently describe the event

C. Strategies
General Group Strategies

- model vocabulary using signs for visual support expansion of child utterances to add missing words (e.g., "i go home" "I'm going home") redirection to interact with peers provide simple phrases for typical peers to use as models for children with special needs
- clearly label roles and responsibilities related to roles fade adult support; observe rather than interact; redirect as

Individualized Objectives (delayed language):

- to assume a pretend role (cashier) with minimal support to follow and participate in the event sequence with minimal verbal cues from peers and/or adults
- to use vocabulary related to the event to initiate verbal requests to a peer for needed items

Individualized Strategies

- use general strategies
- during freeplay, redirect to play with materials
- encourage child to assume a particular role
- fade verbal support as much as possible

Individualized Objectives (sutistic):

- to assume a familiar role (customer) with modeling and support from a peer or an adult to participate in a joint activity with a peer given modeling
- and verbal cues by the peer or adult to follow subparts of the event sequence (e.g., getting ready)
- with minimal support
- to direct language to a peer given redirection cues to use 3-4 word phreses to comment given verbal or sign

Individualized Strategies

- engage in using materials first once engaged, redirect to pears' actions and utterances
- use sign cues to encourage commenting on actions and/or

are assigned specific roles. The child at first should be assigned to the role that he or she would typically be in, such as the customer role. The child with special needs can also be paired with a typical peer who knows the event better. The peer can model what to do and say in the event. The adult can provide varying levels of support for the children, from modeling the roles to providing verbal cues for what to do next. After the children have enacted the event, the adults can review with the children what they did, facilitating event description skills. Finally, the next morning during free play, the materials can be set out again and children can have the opportunity to reenact the event on their own terms. This offers the opportunity to assess the children's developing event representation as well as their use of language during the event.

A sample lesson plan for a "Grocery Store" scripted-play event is presented in Figure 10–1 (pp. 144–45). Section A describes the overall sequence of the play event. A diagram for how the classroom could be arranged is shown. An outline is presented for the adult demonstration of the event sequence and the role play by the children. The event sequences emphasized are based on the roles of customer or store worker, taking into account the difference in perspective based on the roles. This could be used to highlight role relationships as necessary.

Section B includes examples of objectives that could be focused on in this event. Group objectives are listed for typically developing children and are somewhat general. Two sets of individualized objectives are presented, one set for a child with delayed language development, and one set for a child with autism. Objectives emphasize the use of event knowledge, including assuming a specific role and participating in event sequences. Additional objectives focus on the use of language within the event to request needed items, comment, and interact and/or converse with peers.

Section C outlines strategies that may be used by teachers and clinicians to encourage the development of event knowledge and use of the specific skills targeted by the objectives. General strategies include modeling and labeling roles, redirection cues to focus attention on peer actions and use of language, and expansions related to utterances spoken by the children. Individualized strategies emphasize experience and adult support to encourage understanding of the event and its components.

CONCLUSION

The framework presented here for planning scripted events originated from my clinical practice. I initially designed an intervention program to teach children language in familiar everyday contexts, following the ideas already in clinical practice regarding the importance of events (Snyder-McLean et al., 1984; Ratner & Bruner, 1978). It became apparent that children could not

events and not others (e.g., "getting ready" routines). Reexamining the events and the sequence of the event also seemed important and allowed them to sensitive using insights from clinical practice. become more theoretically motivated and how theories can become more use event representations. My journey illustrates how our intervention can allowed me to understand the process children go through as they form and vention contexts. Finally, becoming acquainted with Gail Goodman's work theorizing about event representations and how to create meaningful intercomponents over others, such as role relationships in restaurant events or discovered the notion of "subscripts" (Abelson, 1981), which helped to excomponents including roles and event sequences (Nelson, 1986). Further, I action sequences in camping events. This was then incorporated into my that I had used in intervention, I realized that certain events emphasized some plain what children were doing when they could participate in some parts of found an account of children's event representations that highlighted a set of use language more productively. Turning back to the theoretical literature, just memorize "lines of a script." Their understanding of the specific roles

NOTE

I would like to thank the staff, children, and families of the Jowonio School, Syracuse, New York, who challenged me to develop an understanding of the importance of everyday events, not only for the use of language, but also to support successful participation in events. Special thanks go to Susan Gelling, Ellen Donovan, and Teri Paduana, who shared with me their insights as classroom teachers.

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chapter 11

INTERVENTION PRINCIPLES FOR GESTALT-STYLE LEARNERS

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Most language intervention approaches are based on the assumption that the children learn by building from small to larger and more complex units (but for an exception, see Manning & Bobkoff Kaiz, 1989). This analytic bias also is fundamental to the conceptualization of pragmatically based intervention approaches. For example, modeling techniques elaborate on the form and content of what the child has just produced (Duchan & Weitzner-Lin, 1987; Girolametto, Greenberg, & Manolson, 1986), and scaffolding approaches provide the child with a fully scaffolded version of an event in hopes that the child will select individual elements and build them into a complete schema that they will use when experiencing that event (Kirchner, 1991; Snyder-McLean, Solomonson, McLean, & Sack, 1984).

The presumption of analytic intervention approaches is that gestalt units used by children are understood by them as analyzed composites. The children are seen as having created sentences and stories from the elements within them, as understanding the whole structure by building it up or processing it from its parts. However, there is considerable evidence from both normal and abnormal language learners that children (and adults, for that matter) sometimes understand what they hear, say, and do as unanalyzed gestalts, as whole memorized units rather than as an analyzed sum of their parts (Peters, 1983; Prizant, 1983; Wong-Fillmore, 1979). Indeed, some children have been found